

~~SECRET//NF~~

ENVELOPE

(b)(3):10 USC 424

HEADER

P
310556Z AUG 90
FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC
INFO RUEALGX/SAFE
P
302014Z AUG 90
FM DIA WASHINGTON DC

(b)(3):10 USC 424

(b)(3):10 USC 424;(b)(3):50
USC 3024(i)

TO

RUWSMXI/USCINCTrans SCOTT AFB IL
RUVESLA/USCINCSpace PETERSON AFB CO

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(3):50 USC 3024(i)

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BT

CONTROLS

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(b)(3):10 USC 424;(b)(3):50 USC 3024(i)

SERIAL: DSA 209-90

BODY

SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICA: BLOOD FEUD. ~~(C/NF)~~
DOI: 30 AUG 90

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MAJOR POINTS

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1. ~~(C/NF)~~ INTERNECINE FIGHTING WILL CONTINUE IN SOUTH AFRICA.
2. ~~(C/NF)~~ PRESSURE WILL INCREASE FOR TALKS BETWEEN AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) LEADER NELSON MANDELA AND ZULU CHIEF AND

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INKATHA LEADER GATSHA BUTHELEZI, BUT THE ANC WILL OPPOSE SUCH A MEETING.

3. ~~(C/NF)~~ DESPITE OBJECTIONS FROM EXTREMIST ANC ELEMENTS, A MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO IS LIKELY, ESPECIALLY IF NEITHER SIDE IS FORCED TO LOSE FACE BY AGREEING TO TALK.

4. ~~(C/NF)~~ VIOLENCE WILL PROBABLY NOT DERAIL THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PRETORIA AND THE ANC, BUT IT COULD MAKE THEM MORE DIFFICULT.

5. ~~(C/NF)~~ THE FIGHTING IS LIKELY TO BE CONTAINED, BUT COULD SPREAD

TO OTHER AREAS OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY.

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DISCUSSION

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6. ~~(C/NF)~~ THE CYCLIC VIOLENCE BETWEEN SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC AND MEMBERS OF THE ZULU ETHNIC GROUP, WHO BACK CHIEF BUTHELEZI, IS THE OUTGROWTH OF YEARS OF RIVALRY AND ANIMOSITY. BUTHELEZI IS VIEWED AS

A LACKEY OF THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE BECAUSE OF HIS COMMITMENT TO NONVIOLENT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE CLAIMS, HOWEVER, THAT HIS ROLE IN PREVENTING PRETORIA FROM GRANTING INDEPENDENCE TO THE ZULU HOMELAND, KWAZULU, IS EVIDENCE OF HIS ANTIAPARTHEID CREDENTIALS; THE

INDEPENDENT STATUS WOULD HAVE STRIPPED ZULUS OF THEIR SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP.

7. ~~(C/NF)~~ THE MOVEMENT OF NON-ZULUS FROM THE TRANSKEI AND CISKEI TO LARGELY ZULU NATAL IN SEARCH OF JOBS DILUTED INKATHA'S INFLUENCE AND AGGRAVATED THE SITUATION. URBANIZATION INCREASED, AND THE TRADITIONAL TIES OF MANY ZULUS WERE WEAKENED. THE FIGHTING IN NATAL

MAY HAVE TAKEN MORE THAN 3,000 LIVES SINCE 1986.

8. ~~(C/NF)~~ DURING A RECENT 2-WEEK PERIOD, THE FIGHTING SPREAD FROM NATAL TO THE INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF THE COUNTRY BEYOND KWAZULU, AND THE

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PEOPLE KILLED NOW EXCEEDS 500. MIGRANT ZULU WORKERS OFTEN LIVE IN SINGLE-SEX HOSTELS IN BLACK TOWNSHIPS SURROUNDED BY PRO-ANC BLACKS FROM OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS, PARTICULARLY THE XHOSA. ALTHOUGH EACH SIDE BLAMES THE OTHER FOR THE VIOLENCE, MANY LOCAL LEADERS VIEW THE FIGHTING AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REVENGE AGAINST THEIR OPPONENTS. IN ADDITION, EXTREMIST ANC LEADERS SEE INKATHA AS A POTENTIAL RIVAL FOR POLITICAL POWER AND WANT TO DESTROY

IT. THIS ATTITUDE ALSO APPEARS TO BE STRONG AMONG MILITANT YOUTHS WHO BELIEVE THAT THE ANC ALONE DESERVES TO RULE A POSTAPARTHEID STATE.

9. ~~(C/NF)~~ THE ANC IS THE MOST POPULAR ANTIAPARTHEID ORGANIZATION AND HAS THE SUPPORT OF MOST BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS. IN A DEMOCRATIC

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MULTIPARTY ELECTION, HOWEVER, INKATHA WOULD APPEAL TO MANY ZULUS, WHO CONSTITUTE THE LARGEST ETHNIC GROUP IN THE COUNTRY. IN THEORY, A COALITION OF WHITES, ZULUS, COLOREDS, AND INDIANS COULD CHALLENGE ANC DOMINATION OF A POSTAPARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. IN ADDITION, THE RIVAL PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS, ALTHOUGH IT IS STILL A MINOR FACTOR, IS DRAWING SUPPORT AWAY FROM THE ANC.

10. ~~(C/NF)~~ ANC SUPPORTERS CLAIM THAT CHIEF BUTHELEZI HAS ORCHESTRATED THE VIOLENCE IN ORDER TO ENSURE HIMSELF A ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRETORIA. THEY POINT TO INKATHA DEMANDS THAT MANDELA MEET WITH BUTHELEZI BEFORE THE FIGHTING CAN BE ENDED AS EVIDENCE OF THE ZULU LEADER'S INVOLVEMENT. INKATHA LEADERS RETORT THAT THE ANC IS INSTIGATING THE FIGHTING AND THAT IT IS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AGAINST ZULU LEADERS.

11. ~~(C/NF)~~ MANDELA'S REFUSAL TO MEET WITH BUTHELEZI HAS PROLONGED THE VIOLENCE, BUT THE ANC LEADER TOOK THIS STAND AT THE INSISTENCE OF EXTREMIST ELEMENTS IN THE ORGANIZATION. THE POSSIBILITY OF TALKS

BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS, HOWEVER, IS STILL BEING CONSIDERED. PRETORIA HAS URGED THE TWO TO MEET. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SEEM CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT IF THE TALKS FAIL, A DAMAGED IMAGE WILL WEAKEN MANDELA'S ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE WITH DE KLERK.

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OUTLOOK

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12. ~~(C/NF)~~ PRETORIA HAS MANAGED TO HALT MUCH OF THE FIGHTING BY SENDING SECURITY FORCES TO THE BLACK TOWNSHIPS AND ROUNDING UP WEAPONS, BUT WITHOUT A POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE ANC AND INKATHA, ADDITIONAL CONFLICT IS LIKELY. UNLIKE NATAL PROVINCE, HOWEVER, WHERE INTERNECINE VIOLENCE TOOK ON A LIFE OF ITS OWN, THE PROBLEMS IN THE TRANSVAAL ARE AMENABLE TO RESOLUTION IF THE CYCLE OF

VIOLENCE IS ENDED QUICKLY.

13. ~~(C/NF)~~ PROSPECTS FOR PEACE MAY DEPEND ON A MEETING BETWEEN MANDELA AND BUTHELEZI. MANDELA'S RECOGNITION OF INKATHA AS A LEGITIMATE PLAYER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRETORIA FOR A POSTAPARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE ESPECIALLY HELPFUL. THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCH A MEETING ARE NOT GOOD, HOWEVER, BECAUSE IT FACES

EXTENSIVE OPPOSITION FROM ANC MEMBERS.

14. ~~(C/NF)~~ THE SPECTER OF BLACK GROUPS FIGHTING AMONG THEMSELVES DOES NOT BODE WELL FOR THE TALKS BETWEEN THE DE KLERK GOVERNMENT AND

THE ANC. THE RECENT OUTBURST OF VIOLENCE IS NOT LIKELY TO END THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT FEAR AMONG WHITES WILL FORCE PRETORIA TO SEEK GREATER ASSURANCES FOR THE PROTECTION OF WHITE RIGHTS. IF THIS CANNOT BE ACCOMPLISHED, DE KLERK'S OPPONENTS ON THE EXTREME RIGHT WILL POINT TO THE CONFLICT AS EVIDENCE THAT THE COUNTRY IS NOT

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READY

FOR MAJORITY RULE.

15. ~~(C/NF)~~ THE FIGHTING IS NOT LIKELY TO SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE COUNTRY, ALTHOUGH DEMONSTRATIONS AND VIOLENT INCIDENTS ARE POSSIBLE, ESPECIALLY IN THE BLACK HOMELANDS. THE MAJOR DIFFICULTY REMAINS THE ANIMOSITY BETWEEN THE XHOSA, WHO ARE IDENTIFIED WITH THE ANC, AND THE ZULUS, WHO ARE ASSOCIATED WITH INKATHA AND BUTHELEZI.

ADMIN

(b)(3):10 USC 424

DECL: ~~OADR~~

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